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ADDRESS BY
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DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
TO THE
NATIONAL SECURITY COMMISSION-COMMITTEE MEETINGS
OF THE AMERICAN LEGION
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
AUGUST 21, 1959 10 AM CST

"THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNIST THREAT"

It is a privilege to have this opportunity to be here at the pre-Convention meetings of the American Legion. I have been impressed over the years by how much of its time and resources the Legion devotes to the general welfare of our country. Your record of freely supporting important causes which promote the domestic and international ideals of our peoples is impressive indeed.

My purpose is to discuss with you The Nature of the Communist Threat. The threat of Communism is long-term and many-sided. As all of you members of this National Security Commission well know, there must be no blinders on us when we are looking at the nature and magnitude of this threat.

The objective of Communism is abundantly clear. The Communists want to rule the world. They want to abolish free society. They have,

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in fact, announced their intent of world domination, and let me solemnly assure you that they are determined to carry out their intention. They have an integrated offensive directed from Moscow which combines military, political, psychological, economic, cultural, and subversive forces. Their strategy is to infiltrate and absorb; undermine and replace; subvert and take over -- all, if possible, without war.

We hear much about Soviet power and progress. The Soviets seek to make themselves appear as the star of the future. They seek to maintain the offensive and to place the free peoples of the world on the defensive.

Now, there is no doubt that the Soviet Union has made a significant advance in its economic base. The Soviets have also moved forward in scientific and technical fields by concentrating their resources on selected high priority programs. Soviet advances in the scientific and technical fields are likely to continue and with greater frequency. We recognize these things. We hope that the standard of living of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and of other countries presently under Communist domination, can be materially improved as a result of this natural economic and scientific development. But it is hard to understand why the Soviets use their increasing future capability in the form of a presently existing threat to the peoples of the Free World and at the

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same time mouth the words of peace. The inconsistency in this propaganda tactic makes it clear that they seek to intimidate the West into accepting their one-sided position of hands-off their spheres of influence, with Communist open-house in our backyard. They rattle their future missiles in an effort to scare off any unwelcome intruder. Their spokesman has promised to "bury us"; later, when called on this, he added: "in peaceful competition". You and I know that in the thinking of the Communists there is no condition. Their strategy is to boast of scientific, economic, and military strength in such a way as to make it appear that they have tomorrow's capability today. While the Communists speak of peace, their strategy clearly calls for them to continue those actions which keep the cold war conflict alive and worldwide. At the same time, they would like, if possible, to minimize Western strength in any given area. Thus, in considering the threat of Communism, we must take into account this strategy of mass psychological conditioning -- the Soviet attempt to monopolize the initiative -- the Soviet desire to place free peoples on the defensive -- and the Soviet zone concept of "hands off".

The Communists are currently involved in a triple-threat attack on the West. The first wing of this attack is the direct, overt official action by the Soviet Government. Here we see military, political, diplomatic, and economic weapons employed.

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One of the most menacing techniques of this approach -- and one which will be with us for a long, long time -- is seen in the Communist economic offensive. In this field, we find the handmaiden of Communist subversion. Here the target of the Communists is primarily the newly developing nations of the world. These countries offer fertile fields for Communist economic coercion.

Today, there are around two billion people living in poor, undeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, the Near East, and some of the Americas. Life is at a low economic level. These people have every right to improve their status. They have every right to live in freedom. In their human aspirations they are not different from us. Therefore, there is a terrific pressure for tangible results quickly. The Soviets -- and in fact, the entire Sino-Soviet Bloc -- are attempting to pass themselves off as the foremost examples of crash economic progress. They are out to get the credit for filling the immediate desires of these newly developing areas. But -- and this is the big hooker -- while they are at it, the Communists not only try to assume control of the resources of these countries but also attempt to control the minds and souls of the peoples in the areas. The Communists want nations to become increasingly dependent economically upon the Communist Bloc. The stage is then set for ultimate Communist takeover. As it is developing, Afghanistan is one case in point. Finland is another.

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After World War II the Soviet Union firmly tied the Finnish economy to its own. In 1958, when the Finns began efforts to move closer to the West, the Soviet Union reacted swiftly by cancelling orders, cutting off needed petroleum and wheat supplies, and refusing to negotiate further trade agreements. This economic pressure was buttressed with internal subversion by Finnish Communists. Communist-inspired propaganda, press, and radio took hold. As a result, the Democratic coalition in Finland was forced to fall. It was replaced by a government less opposed to Moscow's goals. Just recently, Pravda has begun to denounce Finnish plans for association with the little free-trade area. Also, the Communist Party of Finland directed from Moscow has begun to make accusations against the Government, charging President Kekkonen with being involved in a conspiracy aimed at securing membership in an association which would be dominated by the Western powers. It will be interesting to see whether further pressure from the Soviet Union will take place to discourage little Finland's agrarian government from making progress by economic association with areas which are non-Bloc controlled.

This kind of Communist economic machination is clearly representative of the nature of the Communist threat with its ultimate objective of what the Soviets call a "world socialist system". This term socialism is only a sugar-coated word the Bolsheviks use to describe Communism when they do not want to alarm the unwary. In this connection, we find

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them using recently a new phrase, "the socialist commonwealth of nations". I predict that we are going to see a lot more use of their term commonwealth. By subtle analogy with the British Commonwealth, the Communists wish to convey that same image of unfettered association, free from any domination. The peoples who may be tempted to participate in the "Soviet Commonwealth" are given the promise of true national independence. But Hungary, Tibet and others give the lie to this hope.

On the bright side, many of the countries in the Middle East and Southeast Asia have begun to appreciate the trap-like character of Communist economic and political friendship. Their leaders have begun to speak out and identify Communism for what it really is. The Communists have for years been trying to avoid this kind of judgment, justifying and fuzzing up their machinations by offering promises of Utopia -- but the question "For whose benefit?" is increasingly being asked by an awakening world.

We have a recent example of this awakening in the so-called neutralist country of India. In April 1956 the people of the large State of Kerala, in India, elected a Communist state government. But what happened? Less than a month ago the people of this same State demonstrated so violently against the Communist malfeasances, and

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particularly their efforts to move in and control the free school system, that the Indian Government, already startled by what it had seen in Tibet, found it the better part of wisdom to move in on the Communists. The Central Government dismissed their administration and took over the running of the Kerala State Government pending new elections. The ousting of the Communist Government has given a serious setback to the Communist Party's prestige throughout India. Most segments of Indian public opinion have applauded the Government's move.

The second wing of the Communist triple-threat attack is seen in their subversive programs. Here I refer to the covert, or under-cover, operations of the Communist Party in all countries. This subversive activity is being undertaken on such a wide scale that today it is at least as dangerous as the military threat.

The Communists have developed a network of subversive bases in all major countries of the world. From these bases they are now operating an offensive designed to cut down and overthrow the democratic institutions and governments of the host and neighboring countries. They are operating from these subversive bases without permission of the host country. In spite of this fact, the Communists clamor about American military bases abroad. Our bases are defensive. They are there with the permission of the duly constituted governments of the areas.

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Their presence, in many cases, strengthens the economy of the countries in which they are located and certainly strengthens the defenses of these countries. But by contrast, the subversive bases of Communism represent an inherent part of the Communist scheme and, let me reiterate, are on the attack with every means at their disposal. Lest you think this is an overstatement, a hard look at Communist behavior in the countries of our neighbors to the South provides interesting documentation.

The Communists have long interfered in the internal affairs of the Latin American Republics. They have consistently abused diplomatic privileges. In Mexico and Argentina the Soviet Union has interfered in trade union activities to a point of offending the national sovereignty of these countries. In these countries the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, through representatives in certain Soviet Embassies, has given guidance and financial support in a clandestine manner to the Communist Parties in a host of surrounding countries.

On a regional scale the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been guiding Latin American Communists in their preparation of a "Congress of Latin American Peoples". The guidance calls for complete concealment of the Communist instigation and initiation of the Congress. It provides for the deception of the peoples of Latin America and for the deception of specific patriotic, progressive, non-Communist public

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figures whom the Communists are seeking to trick into sponsoring the Congress. The Communists' aim is to undermine the amity and cooperation of the member-peoples of the Organization of American States, thus weakening the defense of their freedom. This aim of that Congress is to be disguised under the wholesome purpose of defending the internal resources of the Latin American countries.

Latin American Communists, in ever-increasing numbers, are being trained in the Soviet Union in the techniques of gaining state power, leading to the establishment of Communist dictatorships. Their training is clandestine from beginning to end. The trainees are aided in obtaining illegal travel documents in defiance of their own and other governments in order to travel to the training sites within the Soviet Union. They are being taught to exploit the honest and legitimate national aspirations of genuine political parties, labor movements, and other democratic institutions.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union also gives specific direction on what Latin American Communist Party action should be. For example, the Communist Party of Cuba, called "The Popular Socialist Party", has been given guidance on how to penetrate and exploit the Government of Fidel Castro. Primary targets for Communist penetration in Cuba are the agrarian reforms, trade unions, and the Army.

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These targets of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are so important that back in May of this year they sent under alias to Cuba a Soviet Intelligence Officer, Vadim Kotchergin, as a member of a Soviet Trade Union delegation. His assignment was to give guidance to Cuban Communists. Kotchergin has since returned to Moscow.

One of the Soviet's primary instruments in Latin America is the Confederation of Workers of Latin America, with headquarters in Mexico. This Confederation is the regional liaison bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), which has headquarters in Prague but is controlled from Moscow. Soviet financial aid is given regularly to the Confederation of Workers of Latin America via the World Federation of Trade Unions. The Union's officials maintain both open and secret contact with the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City. The Union provides "trade union cover" -- an appearance of legality and legitimacy -- for Latin American Communists in obtaining illegal documentation for travel to Moscow for consultation. The head of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, abuses his diplomatic passport by placing its immunity and privileges at the service of the International Communist movement for clandestine purposes.

While this kind of subversive activity takes place, we find the

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Soviets piously making overtures of peace toward the legitimate free trade unions, not only in Latin America but all over the Free World. They seek more fraternal exchange between the Communist labor bodies and the organized free trade unions -- all in the interest of peace. But in responding, consideration must be given to the kind of continuing subversive activity that I have just referred to as taking place in Latin America. Free men subscribe to the fundamental human rights specified in the United Nations Charter. The Communists do not. In the trade union field, free unions permit their workers the right of freedom of association and organization, the right of genuine collective bargaining, and the right to strike. The Communists do not. Indeed, their subversive apparatus is diametrically opposed to these freedoms. In the Free World, individuals and organizations are permitted to advocate and develop democratic institutions. In the Communist world, this permission is missing.

The Chinese Communists are also showing an increasing interest in Latin American matters. The Chinese Communists are spreading the concept that China should be the model for social and economic revolution in Latin America. They point out the alleged similarities between the two areas. They are seeking trade and cultural relationships with various Latin American countries. They are interested in establishing diplomatic relations where possible.

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In support of their general programs the Chinese Communists are engaged in various specific activities in Latin America. They are disseminating propaganda both by mail and by Spanish language radio programs directed at the area. They are establishing a newspaper in Cuba under the direction of personnel of the New China News Agency sent from China. Other representatives of the New China News Agency, which is an arm of the Chinese Communist Party's Propaganda Department, have toured various Latin American countries. Activities in the cultural field are carried on by societies to promote Chinese culture, and these societies are particularly active in Chile, Cuba, Mexico Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay.

For leaders of Latin American Communist Parties the Chinese also have begun offering training courses. If indeed the Communists seek the peace they talk about, why is the training of a Free World Communist cadre at the highest Party schools in the Soviet Union and in China permitted, encouraged, and subsidized? Why are they planning to expand their already considerable and expensive training programs to embrace every existing Communist Party?

Communist efforts at subversion of lawfully established Governments reach out to all countries. They employ a host of methods timed to suit their purpose. Let me select a few examples of going Communist

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activities which are today sufficiently aggravated to have bubbled to the surface.

In Laos, a small free country in what was formerly known as Indochina, we find Communist subversion, propaganda, penetration and force. In Iraq we find Communist subversion, propaganda, penetration and at least an incitement to murder. In Iran we find the most vehement of Communist propaganda supporting their subversive campaigns. Communist propaganda from the Soviet Union has heaped abuse and vilification upon the Government of Iran collectively and upon the Shah of Iran, the Prime Minister and other Iranian officials. They seek to force Iran into a change of policy. They seek to split Iran away from other nations of the free world with which she has voluntarily aligned herself. Iran on her part has firmly pointed out that while desiring to be friendly with the Soviet Union, she has no intention of modifying her association with other free and like-minded nations.

If time permitted I could go on and cite you many other going examples of Communist subversive activities.

In addition to the diplomatic, economic, political and military actions of the Soviet Union and Communist China and the subversive

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activities of the Communists directed from Moscow and Peiping, there is a third aspect of the Communists' triple-threat attack. This third aspect involves the use of a host of Communist front organizations. These fronts are part of the Communist international propaganda and subversive apparatus. They have appealing and irreproachable names such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions. Right here in the United States, our own Attorney General's list of subversive organizations contains the names of hundreds of Communist front organizations. In nearly all other countries of the world, there are comparable organizations which exist to serve the goals of International Communism.

Soviet leaders are spending, directly or indirectly, hundreds of millions of dollars annually on these Communist front activities. The technique is to grasp some popular cause and set up a mass public organization ostensibly to promote that cause. Actually the purpose is to develop political subversion. These fronts are used as a way of recruiting unwitting people of good will and harnessing their idealistic feelings to serve Communist objectives.

Communist efforts through international front groups to soften up the Free World by portraying the Soviets as paragons of peace and friendship do not go unchallenged. Here I am talking about challenging

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deeds as well as words. A recent example of this is the Seventh World Youth Festival held in Vienna from 26 July through 4 August. I am sure that many of you have read about this event.

This was the first time that the Communists have dared to hold their world youth festival outside of the Iron Curtain. They hoped by so doing to establish respectability for the Festival. They wanted to demonstrate that they could operate in the Free World as readily as behind the Iron Curtain, and they might well have got away with it except for some resolute and clear-eyed persons who exposed the fraudulence of Soviet claims.

Reports show that the Vienna Festival was marked by dissension and violence. Many who had come accepting the word of the Festival sponsors that this would be opportunity for youth from all over the world to exchange views and improve understanding among people had their eyes opened for them. Free World groups had arranged to distribute books and other literature which are not available behind the Iron Curtain. When they attempted to do so, they were beaten up, and their literature was seized and, in one case, even burned. The Communists had to take strenuous, and often crude, measures to see that dissenting views were not permitted expression at the various seminars. Delegations from the Soviet Union, Communist China, and the Satellite countries were subjected to rigid discipline and were closely guarded

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from free contact with Free World delegates. In fact, they were herded in and out of buses and shuttled from one place to another in most obvious fashion. These things tended to show up the ugliness of the Communists. Certainly the implications of this cannot have been lost on the many persons attending from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The people of Austria, and of Vienna itself, were not taken in by the propaganda of the Festival organizers. All Austrian youth and student groups other than the Communists protested from the beginning against the holding of the Festival in Vienna and boycotted it. The populace was cool and indifferent to the "circus" taking place in their city, and the newspapers of Vienna gave the Festival very little coverage.

The Communists tried to deceive the delegates and the world in many ways. But such tactics backfired. For example, in one case a high official of the ruling party of the Government of Ghana protested vigorously against the use of the flag of his country at the Festival. He said that Ghana was not represented as a participant or observer and that the so-called Ghana delegation which marched in the opening parade consisted in fact of Nigerians!

Not the least of the headaches of the Festival organizers came from Americans. Throughout the ten-day event the American delegation of about 350 persons was split. A majority of them protested the

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rigging under which Festival officials refused to accept the results of a democratic vote in the delegation. The Communists refused to give proper credentials to the duly-elected majority. Apparently the Festival officials were well aware that this majority was anti-Communist and that it would remain critical of the undemocratic management of the Festival. At the end the suppressed majority issued a statement denouncing the Festival "as a tool for the advancement of world Communism". According to the New York Times of 5 August, the work of this majority rebel faction proved to be a "minor disaster" for the Communist organizers.

A Communist leader has piously said: "It is very good for youth from different countries and of different political convictions to come together . . . . The desire of the youth to meet as often as possible to exchange opinions so as to know and to understand one another better must be welcomed and encouraged in every way." But what happened when people did attempt "to exchange opinions" and to "understand one another better"? The Communist steam roller and goon squads went into operation. In the process the Communist organizers were forced to show their true colors -- which are hardly those of "peace and friendship".

I could give you many examples of the ways in which the Communists operate. It is clear that their strategy is designed to spread Communism

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throughout the world by any means -- moral or immoral, legitimate or illegitimate, overt or covert. They have long-range programs which are tied directly to the Kremlin. The resources they have to work with -- political, economic, military, and subversive -- are increasingly significant. They do not want hot war with the U. S. if it is possible to avoid it. Their primary emphasis for the future is in their economic and political subversive activities. These activities are continuous -- regardless of whether we get smiling faces from the Kremlin or ugly scowls, or veiled threats, or missile rattling. Their merry-go-round has made a complete circle. There is always the brass ring for those who want to grab it and get the free ride, but the ride turns out to be costly.

It has not been my purpose -- nor has there been time today -- to include a look at the other side of the coin -- that is, what we might and should be doing to overcome this Communist threat. Just let me say that there is another side to the coin, as exemplified by the Vienna Festival episode. In the paraphrased words of my Chief, Mr. Allen Dulles, who is Director of Central Intelligence:

"Our defense lies not in compromise but in understanding and firmness, in a strong and ready deterrent military power, in the marshalling of our economic assets with those of the other free countries

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of the world to meet Communist methods of economic penetration, and finally in the unmasking of Communist subversion.

If they succeed and we fail, it will only be because of our complacency and because they have devoted a far greater share of their power, skill, and resources to our destruction than we have been willing to dedicate to our own preservation."

Thank you.

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